sions were set on fire. Large estates operated with hired labor were divided among the peasants—not only the land, but also the livestock, machinery, and other property. Office buildings were burned down.

The movement was spontaneous. The peasants realized, of course, that they were acting against the law, but they considered the laws protecting the landowners unjust and believed that they could get away with breaking them. The "Red Rooster," as they called the burning of landlords' mansions, was flying over the country.

It looked as if all rural Russia was in revolt. But cruel reprisals followed the Red Rooster. Villages guilty of riots were surrounded by troops and the peasants were flogged or shot in front of the village church. No village resisted. In many places, the peasants met troops on their knees at the entrance of the village, the headman offering a tray of bread and salt to the commanding officer. But unrest put down in one place broke out in another a few days later.

An all-Russian peasant convention met in Moscow. It was dominated by the S-R, but the public was not sure whether the convention represented a cross-section of Russian villages or only a thin layer of rural intellectuals—schoolteachers, agronomists, statisticians of local governments (*zemstvos*). The workers in St. Petersburg, most of them sons of peasants, firmly believed that the muzhiks would rise against the Tsar. I shared this faith, but I could not visualize the common action of villages and cities in the last and decisive phase of the revolution. Would the villagers revolt against the government and repulse the troops sent against them? Would the muzhiks seize the railroads and invade the cities? Or would the peasants' joining the revolution result in the disintegration of the Tsarist army? The village lived its own life, followed its own road. Where did this road lead?

History has supplied the answer. The Russian village then was a house divided against itself. The majority of the people were probably on the side of the revolution, as they later proved repeatedly by their votes. But small groups were devoted to the existing regime, vehemently opposed to new ideas from the cities, frightened by unfolding revolutionary events. And, since there was no unity in revolutionary forces, the minority was going to win. This is hindsight, however. In November, 1905, I felt about the Russian village as I had felt about the labor movement after January 9. I believed the decisive battle of the revolution would be fought in the village, and I wanted to be there at that fateful hour.